

Message Text

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, PK, UR

SUBJECT: CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFER (CAT) TALKS BRIEFINGS

1. ON AUGUST 17 ACDA BRIEFED EMBASSY OF PAKISTAN FIRST
SECRETARY ZAFAR HILALY ON RECENT US-USSR CONVENTIONAL ARMS
TRANSFER RESTRAINT TALKS IN HELSINKI, WITH NEA REP
ATTENDING, ALONG FOLLOWING LINES:

BEGIN TALKING POINTS:
A. 3ACKGROUND.

--THE US AND SOVIET SIDES HAVE MET THREE TIMES TO DISCUSS
CONVENTIONAL ARMS RESTRAINT. A SUBSTANTIVE DIALOGUE REALLY
BEGAN ONLY IN HELSINKI IN MAY, AFTER WHICH THE SIDES ISSUED
A COMMUNIQUE IN WHICH THEY AGREED (1) THAT THE PROBLEM OF
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LIMITING ARMS TRANSFERS WAS URGENT AND (2) TO HOLD
REGULARLY SCHEDULED MEETINGS TOEXPLORE CONCRETE MEASURES
THAT COULD BE TAKEN.

--IN MAY THE SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT ADOPTED A PRO-
GRAM OF ACTION CALLING FOR CONSULTATIONS AMONG SUPPLIERS
AND RECIPIENTS ON LIMITING ARMS TRANSFERS. US-SOVIET

BILATERAL MEETINGS REPRESENT AN ATTEMPT TO BEGIN TO IMPLEMENT THAT UN MANDATE.

--EVENTS IN LATIN AMERICA, SUCH AS THE JUNE 22 DECLARATION BY THE EIGHT SIGNATORIES OF THE 1974 DECLARATION OF AYACUCHO CALLING FOR A LATIN AMERICAN AGREEMENT LIMITING CONVENTIONAL ARMS AND THE DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS OF MEXICO TOWARD THE SAME END, ALSO GIVE IMPETUS TO WORK OF RESTRAINING ARMS TRANSFERS.

B. OVERALL FRAMEWORK FOR RESTRAINT.

--THE US OUTLINED A FRAMEWORK OF RESTRAINT TO THE SOVIETS, AS A WAY OF FOCUSING THE DELIBERATIONS.

--THE PROPOSED FRAMEWORK CONSISTS OF THREE PARTS.

1. POLITICAL/LEGAL CRITERIA.

--THESE CRITERIA WOULD BE BASED ON THE UN CHARTER, UN RESOLUTIONS, AND OTHER INTERNATIONALLY AGREED DOCUMENTS.

--THEY SHOULD SERVE TWO PURPOSES: (1) IDENTIFYING LEGAL CONSTRAINTS ON ARMS TRANSFERS; AND (2) IDENTIFYING RELEVANT POLITICAL FACTORS TO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN MAKING ARMS TRANSFER DECISIONS.

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--A GOOD BASIS EXISTS FOR THE ELABORATION OF MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE LANGUAGE.

2. MILITARY/TECHNICAL CRITERIA.

--COMMONLY AGREED MILITARY/TECHNICAL CRITERIA TO SET BOUNDARIES ON THE TYPES AND AMOUNTS OF WEAPONS TO BE PROVIDED.

--THESE CRITERIA ARE EQUALLY AS IMPORTANT AS POLITICAL/LEGAL CRITERIA; AND AGREEMENT ON BOTH TYPES OF CRITERIA IS ESSENTIAL IN ORDER TO HAVE A COHERENT AND COMPREHENSIVE FRAMEWORK FOR RESTRAINT.

3. REGIONAL APPLICATION.

--ARRANGEMENTS TO APPLY CRITERIA IN REGIONAL CONTEXTS.

--IT IS IMPORTANT TO GIVE SUBSTANCE TO CRITERIA THAT WOULD OTHERWISE BE GENERAL AND ABSTRACT STATEMENTS OF INTEREST, SUBJECT TO MANY DIFFERENT INTERPRETATIONS.

C. INTERIM RESTRAINT REGIME.

--BOTH SIDES AGREE, THAT, IN ADVANCE OF FINAL AGREEMENT ON

CRITERIA, IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO REACH INTERIM RESTRAINT
ARRANGEMENTS FOR SPECIFIC REGIONS.

-A BASIS WAS LAID THAT SUCH ARRANGEMENTS MIGHT CONSIST OF
LISTS OF WEAPONS TO BE RESTRAINED.

--BOTH SIDES AGREED IT WAS POSSIBLE TO DISCUSS ANY REGION
OR SUB-REGION OF THE WORLD, PROVIDED THEY WERE NOT
ARTIFICIALLY CONTRIVED.

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D. ROLE OF OTHER SUPPLIERS/RECIPIENTS

--BOTH SIDES RECOGNIZED THE CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE OF THE
PARTICIPATION OF OTHER SUPPLIERS AND RECIPIENTS IN DEVELOP-
ING AND/OR SUPPORTING ANY RESTRAINT REGIME.

-- BOTH SIDES WERE HOPEFUL THAT OTHER SUPPLIERS AND RECI-
PIENTS WOULD FIND IT IN THEIR INTERESTS TO SUPPORT ARMS
TRANSFER RESTRAINT.

--WE HAVE MADE CLEAR TO THE SOVIETS OUR POSITION THAT
THE LEGITIMATE DEFENSE REQUIREMENTS OF RECIPIENTS MUST BE
MET.

E. ASSESSMENT OF ROUND III AND FUTURE PROSPECTS.

--THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE MOVEMENT TOWARD A COMMON UNDER-
STANDING OF GENERAL GUIDELINES OR CRITERIA FOR RESTRAINT
IN ARMS TRANSFERS.

--THE SOVIETS AGAIN APPEARED TO TAKE THESE DISCUSSIONS
SERIOUSLY. HOWEVER, THE NEXT ROUND -- TENTATIVELY PLANNED
FOR DECEMBER TO ENABLE BOTH SIDES TO UNDERTAKE THOROUGH
PREPARATIONS -- WILL PROVIDE A TEST OF THE PROSPECTS FOR
NEAR-TERM SUCCESS OF CAT. END OF TALKING POINTS.

2. HILALY QUERIED WHETHER THE CAT TALKS WERE AN INITIATIVE
OF THE PRESENT US ADMINISTRATION. THIS BEING CONFIRMED, HE
BEGAN FOLLOWING EMPHATIC PRESENTATION WHICH IS UNDOUBTEDLY
QUITE FAMILIAR TO EMBASSY. ALTHOUGH CONCEPT IS GOOD, US
POSITION MAY NOT GIVE SUFFICIENT WEIGHT TO PRESENT LEGITI-
MATE SECURITY INTERESTS OF PAKISTAN. PAKISTAN IS IN A VERY
SENSITIVE POSITION GEOGRAPHICALLY, VERY POOR, AND

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PRESENTLY HAS 60 TO 70 PERCENT OF BUDGET ALLOCATED TO ARMS FOR DEFENSE. FURTHER, PAKISTAN HAS RECEIVED ONLY SMALL AMOUNTS OF ARMS FROM U.S., AND "NOW WE FACE US WORLDWIDE RESTRAINT POLICY". ADDITIONALLY, PAKISTAN SEES ITS OWN ARMS NEEDS VERY DIFFERENTLY FROM USG. INDIA HAS A VERY

LARGE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT, WHICH HAD BEEN USED AGAINST PAKISTAN TWICE, AND CHINA ONCE. HE POINTED OUT THAT AFGHANISTAN AND INDIA ARE PRESENTLY BEING REARMED BY SOVIETS; THAT THE PRESIDENT SEEMS DETERMINED TO REDUCE ARMS REGARDLESS OF WHETHER INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IS ACHIEVED OR NOT. THEREFORE, WITHOUT PARALLEL SOVIET RESTRAINTS, US ATTEMPT TO REDUCE ARMS SALES IS TO DIS-ADVANTAGE OF PAKISTAN AND OTHER COUNTRIES IN WORLD WHERE US HAS ONLY PERIPHERAL INTERESTS AT STAKE. HE SAID THIS SITUATION HAS FORCED THE GOP TO QUESTION CONTINUED MEMBERSHIP IN CENTO.

3. ACDA (HIRSCHFELD) EXPLAINED THAT CAT TALKS WERE ONLY ONE PART OF A PROCESS WHICH WE HOPED WOULD CULMINATE IN FEWER REACTIVE ARMS PURCHASES. WE HAVE SOUGHT COOPERATION OF USSR, IN THE FIRST INSTANCE, BECAUSE USSR IS SECOND LARGEST ARMS SUPPLIER. MUCH REMAINS TO BE DONE, BUT A START HAS BEEN MADE. HE CONCLUDED DISCUSSION WITH EXPLANATION THAT USG WOULD KEEP FRIENDS AND ALLIES INFORMED OF CAT PROGRESS AND WOULD OF COURSE FOLLOW DEVELOPMENTS CLOSELY IN SOUTH ASIA.

4. EMBASSY MAY DRAW ON TALKING POINTS PARA 1 FOR DISCUSSIONS WITH HOST GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AS CONSIDERED APPROPRIATE.

5. BRIEFINGS WILL ALSO BE GIVEN EMBASSY REPRESENTATIVES OF EGYPT, MOROCCO, JORDAN, INDIA, IRAN, ISRAEL, AND SAUDI ARABIA. SELECTED COUNTRIES IN OTHER REGIONS ARE ALSO BEING BRIEFED. CHRISTOPHER

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